

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 IO-12 DPW-01 USIE-00 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 SSO-00 NIC-01 RSR-01 INRE-00

/109 W

----- 101701

O 040145 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1147

IINFO RUESDA/ AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST IMMEDIATE 0510

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA IMMEDIATE

TUEHOT/ AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE 1145

AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE

USDEL JEC PARIS IMMEDIATE

DAO SAIGON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SAIGON 7775

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SAIGON 3 MAY 73 REPEATED TO YOU

QUOTE:

DANANG 480

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT VS

SUBJ: FURTHER ICCS DEVELOPMENTS ALONG THE THACH HAN RIVER,
QUANG TRI

CONGEN HUE AREA DIRECTOR HAS RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION
FROM ICCS REGION II HEADQUARTERS IN HUE:

1. AT APPROXIMATELY 1150 HOURS MAY 3, TWO AIRCRAFT FLEW OVER
THE THACH HAN RIVER IN THE VICINITY OF QUANG TRI CITY. ICCS PER-
SONNEL TENTATIVELY IDENTIFIED THE AIRCRAFT AS AN F-5 AND A DRONE.
ANTI- AIRCRAFT WEAPONS ON THE PRG SIDE OF THE RIVER OPENED FIRE IZSEEDA#

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ICCS PERSONNEL BELIEVE THAT THE DRONE WAS SHOT DOWN.

2. FOLLOWING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ICCS AND PRG REPRESENTATIVES
THIS MORNING, IT WAS AGREED THAT THE REMAINING PARTS OF HELICOPTER

115 WOULD BE TRUCKED FROM GIO LINH TO THE NORTH BANK OF THE THACH HAN RIVER. THE 115 PARTS WOULD THEN BE AIRLIFTED BY HELICOPTER TO THE SOUTH BANK. THE ICCS REGION I HAS SENT A FORMAL MESSAGE TO THE LOCAL GVN AUTHORITIES INFORMING THEM OF THIS PROCEDURE. ACCORDING TO ICCS REGION I SOURCES, THE MESSAGE ALSO NOTES THAT IT WOULD BE EMBARRASSING IF THE ONTISOV'S DESCRIPTION OF AGREED CBM'S OMITTED "MILITARY MOVEMENTS". END COMMENT. SOVIETS HAD ALSO MET THE WESTERN SIDE HALF WAY ON THE QUESTION OF CULTURAL COOPERATION AND CONTACTS, AND THEY HAD AGREED TO DRAFT IN HELSINKI, THE "ASSIGNMENTS" FOR CSCE PHASE II COMMITTEES, ALTHOUGH MOSCOW DID NOT BELIEVE THAT EXERCISE WAS REALLY NECESSARY. HOWEVER, VORONTSOV OBSERVED, PROGRESS IS ONLY POSSIBLE IF ALL PARTICIPANTS MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT AND AGREE TO MORE EFFICIENT WORKING METHODS AT HELSINKI.

3. AT THIS POINT, VORONTSOV STOPPED READING FROM HIS INSTRUCTIONS AND OBSERVED THAT GROMYKO WISHED HIM TO CALL PARTICULAR ATTENTION OF DEPARTMENT TO QUESTION OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. THE ITALIAN PROPOSAL ON PRINCIPLE OF INTERSTATE RELATIONS, WHICH IS IN EFFECT A NATO PROPOSAL, DOES NOT LIST FRONTIER INVIO-
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ABILITY AS A SEPARATE PRINCIPLE, BUT SUBORDINATES IT TO NONUSE OF FORCE. IN THE US-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE, HOWEVER, FRONTIER INVIOABILITY IS LISTED AS AN INDEPENDENT PRINCIPLE, NOT SUBORDINATE TO ANY OTHER. THE US DELEGATION IN HELSINKI HAD INDICATED THAT IT WAS NOT OPPOSED TO SEPARATE TREATMENT OF FRONTIER INVIOABILITY IN THE RELEVANT TEXT, BUT IT HAD NOT ACTIVELY SUPPORTED POSITION AGREED UPON AT MOSCOW SUMMIT AND REGISTERED IN US-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE. GROMYKO, THEREFORE, HOPES THAT THE US WILL MAKE ITS POSITION CLEARER ON THIS ISSUE AND SHIFT FROM A PASSIVE TO A MORE ACTIVE POSTURE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

4. VORONTSOV SAID THAT SOVIETS INTEND TO RAISE THIS PROBLEM ALSO WITH CERTAIN WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAD ACCEPTED INDEPENDENT TREATMENT OF FRONTIER INVIOABILITY IN RECENT BILATERAL DOCUMENTS WITH THE SOVIETS. HE MENTIONED SPECIFICALLY FRANCE AND THE FRG.

5. STOESEL RESPONDED THAT HE TOOK NOTE OF SOVIET APPROACH AND WOULD STUDY IT CAREFULLY. WE, TOO, ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO MEETING LATE JUNE DATE FOR OPENING CSCE. OUR DELEGATION HAS NOT BEEN PASSIVE IN HELSINKI, BUT HAS ACTIVELY URGED UPON OTHERS A MORE RAPID PACE OF WORK. WE BELIEVE THERE IS A REASONABLE PROSPECT THAT THE JUNE DATE CAN BE MET.

6. HOWEVER, STOESSEL WENT ON TO SAY, WE SEE THE PROBLEM SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTLY AND BELIEVE THAT THE REAL IMPEDIMENT TO AN EARLY CONCLUSION OF THE HELSINKI TALKS LIES IN

THE SOVIET ATTITUDE ON THE THIRD AGENDA ITEM, THE SO-CALLED HUMAN CONTACTS ISSUE. AMBASSADOR ZORIN'S STATEMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT DURING THE CLOSING DAYS OF MPT ROUND THREE HAD BEEN SURPRISINGLY HARSH. PRIOR TO THOSE INTERVENTIONS, IT HAD APPEARED THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR FORWARD MOVEMENT WERE QUITE GOOD. HOWEVER, ZORIN'S REMARKS HAD HAD EFFECT OF STIFFENING THE POSITIONS OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS ON OTHER ISSUES, INCLUDING THE FRONTIER INVIOABILITY QUESTION. GEORGE VEST HAD DISCUSSED THIS MATTER WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH

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IN HELSINKI AT SOME LENGTH ON APRIL 6.

7. PERHAPS, STOESSEL OBSERVED, THE SOVIETS HAD CALCULATED THAT A STERN POSITION ON THE FREER MOVEMENT TOPIC WOULD BRING OTHER COUNTRIES TOWARD SOVIET POSITION ON THE FRONTIER INVIOABILITY ISSUE. IF THAT HAD INDEED BEEN THE SOVIET TACTIC, IT REFLECTED A MISREADING OF THE TRUE SITUATION. THE OUTLINES OF AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE ON FRONTIER INVIOABILITY ARE PRESENT (A POINT STOESSEL REITERATED TWICE AT OTHER JUNCTURES DURING THIS CONVERSATION). BUT FACT IS THAT THE SOVIET STAND ON HUMAN CONTACTS HAS HARDENED THE ATTITUDES OF OTHERS ON THE FRONTIERS QUESTION.

8. THUS, WE THINK IT WILL BE VERY USEFUL FOR THE SOVIETS TO HAVE THE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS, WHICH VORONTSOV HAD MENTIONED, WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS,

STOESSEL ADDED. IF MOSCOW CAN SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY ON THE HUMAN CONTACTS ISSUE, THIS POINT SHOULD BE MADE IN APPROPRIATE CAPITALS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THIS WOULD HELP MATERIALLY TO SPEED UP THE PACE OF WORK WHEN THE HELSINKI TALKS RESUME ON APRIL 25. WE RECOGNIZE, STOESSEL SAID, THAT THE HUMAN CONTACTS ISSUE RAISES PROBLEMS FOR MOSCOW, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT COMPROMISE LANGUAGE CAN BE FOUND IN HELSINKI. WHAT IS REQUIRED, HOWEVER, IS A MORE POSITIVE TONE IN THE SOVIET APPROACH. SOVIETS SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT WESTERN GOVERNMENTS, AND PARTICULARLY WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS, ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS ISSUE. THEY WOULD BE CRITICIZED BY THEIR PARLIAMENTS AND PUBLIC OPINION IF THEY AGREED IN HELSINKI TO MANDATE TEXT THAT DID NOT HOLD OUT PROSPECT FOR SOME PROGRESS IN THIS AREA.

9. VORONTSOV RESPONDED THAT THE PROBLEM LAY NOT WITH

THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT HELSINKI, BUT WITH SOME ON
THE WESTERN SIDE WHO HAD ALLOWED THEMSELVES TO BE

CARRIED AWAY BY THEIR ENTHUSIASM FOR THIS ISSUE. THESE
DELEGATIONS WISHED TO DISCUSS " CONCRETE WAYS AND MEANS"
FOR ACHIEVING PROGRESS IN THIS AREA. SUCH DISCUSSIONS

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WERE APPROPRIATE FOR THE COMMITTEE PHASE OF CSCE, BUT
SHOULD NOT BE ATTEMPTED AT HELSINKI. MANDATE TEXT
SUPPORTED BY THESE DELEGATIONS CONTAINS FAR TOO MUCH
DETAIL.

10. USNATO MAY BRIEF ALLIES ON THIS COVERSATION AS
APPROPRIATE.

MISSION SHOULD INDICATE OUR INTEREST IN BEING INFORMED RE
NATURE ANY SOVIET DEMARCHES ON MPT IN OTHER NATO CAPITALS.
AFTER BRIEFING OF ALLIES IN NATO, INFO ADDRESSEES IN
NATO CAPITALS MAY ALSO DRAW ON THIS REPORT, SUBJECT TO
INDICATED CAVEATS, IN RESPONSE TO INQUIRIES FROM HOST
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. PORTER UNQTE
ROGERS

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